1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *fiilletuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

[535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *konco mew*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *loltu purun*. Latcham said that *konco mew* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Manquilef, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche



major sorts, athletic events and gambling competitions. For the latter the Mapuche used beans painted black on one side, sticks, playing cards of hide, and marked bits of bone or wood comparable to dice.[11] In addition, there was much wagering on the results of athletic contests. Among their favorite sports were wrestling, swimming, foot racing, lance play, a kind of volley ball, *pillma*, and most important of all, hockey.

Araucanian hockey (Spanish, *chueca;* Mapuche, *palikantun*) was once regarded as the conditioning sport par excellence for warriors, and is still the principal and universal game played by men.[12] So thoroughly intertwined were the concepts of war and hockey, that in speaking of a *loñko*'s followers more than one informant used terms for warrior and hockey player interchangeably. Such great importance was attached to the matches that each side performed rituals to bring about victory, players had to observe sex tabus before important games, and heavy bets were placed on the results. Also, as has been indicated hockey sticks are clashed to drive away spirits of evil during ceremonies, and we shall find that hockey plays a part in the great *ñillatun* celebrations.

*Chueca*, as it is most commonly called, is closely comparable to field hockey. It is played on a long, rectangular field, about 300 or 350 feet long and forty feet wide, the limits of which are marked by a line or light furrow made with a bullock-drawn plow. Each man uses a homemade hockey stick three to four feet long, fashioned of hard wood, rubbed smooth, and curved at one end.[13] The ball, which is somewhat smaller than a billiard ball, is made of wood and is sometimes wrapped tightly with wool thread or bound in leather. Each team consists of ten to twelve players, but the number may be larger or smaller by mutual consent. Rules are quite simple. When the contest

[11] Smith (1855, pp. 320–23) and Manquilef (1914, pp. 105 ff.) have supplied many added details.

[12] Cooper (1946, p. 739) said that men, women, and children played hockey; but I could find no evidence of participation by adult females, although young girls and boys did play together.

[13] For a lengthy description of hockey and its significance, see Manquilef, 1914, pp. 140 ff.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4



526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (llique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kechu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

[524]

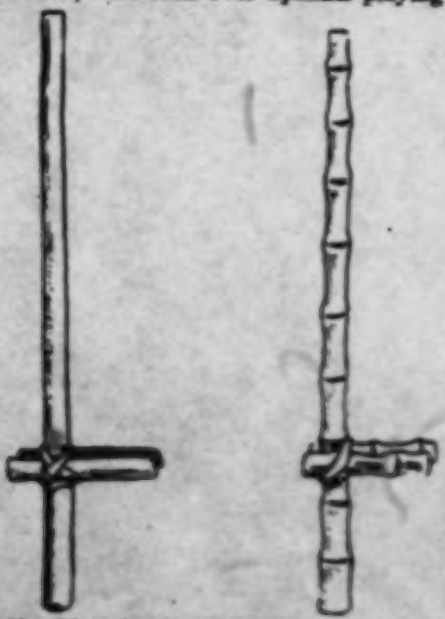

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche stilts.* (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 1.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1863, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:182), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:552, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thentiealun; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:230), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:648; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



526 Those who lived near the Pacific brought several cochayuyo, enough for friends, also. A 12-year-old boy, not receiving any from any boy, before school opened ran to the Pacific—a distance of 20 minutes on horseback, which he made in 22 minutes on foot. He brought a supply, shared it with others, and then sat busily making a ball (pls. 18, 19); he finished it at recess time. "Nobody taught me how to make it," he said; "I have watched others make them ever since I was small." Walking along the shores of the Pacific with some boys one day, several picked up cochayuyo that the outgoing tide had left behind and made balls while we were walking. The base of the ball is made by means of loops and sling knots; the remainder, by a tight over-under weave.

Cooper's sources name types of play common among children as wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide-and-seek, walking on stilts, guessing game, and two games suggesting European influence resembling our jacks and blindman's buff (1946, pp. 740-741).

Adults still play the traditional competive hockey game of palin or palitun (chueca, in Spanish) played with hocky sticks (weno) and balls (pali) (pl. 28, *1* and *2*). Balls in the Museo Araucano de Temuco were from 1¼ to 2 inches in diameter and were whittled out of wood. Two organized teams of eight men each, usually young men, oppose each other. A team from Pollingue played against one from Carilingue in Coñaripe area on November 1, 1946. According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 739) men, women, and children formerly played palin in organized, opposing teams of 10 to 15 players; the game was by far the most important sport. Playing, Cooper writes, was done "to the music of flutes and drums before big crowds of spectators, for large wagers put up both by players and by spectators. Various magico-religious rites were carried out in connection with the game: e.g., the ball was treated by the medicine man, the sticks were fumigated with tobacco smoke and anointed with the blood of an animal killed for the purpose. Sexual intercourse was avoided before an important match game."

The competitive Chilean game of futbol is being played today, rather than the traditional game of palin; it was being played by young men in all areas I visited. (Pl. 28, *3* and *4*.) Two teams of eleven players each oppose each other, and there is an umpire. Sometimes Araucanians play against Chileans; more often they play against Araucanians from another area.

● 525 Occasionally men—never women—play a game of chance known as el chupe. Two men were seen playing it while waiting for the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. 525
Generally, 10 or more coins are used. One man shook his four coins in the hollow of his joined hands, and asked his opponent, "Cara o sello" (face or seal)? (The face of Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean hero, is on one side of the coin; the words "veinte centavos" on the other.) His opponent answered, "Cara," whereupon the man threw the coins into the air. As soon as they landed on the ground, both men pointed at the coins that had turned up cara, and the opponent picked them up. He now shook his four coins. They did this alternately for some time. Other men who in the meantime had arrived for the meeting became nonparticipant observers.

Two games of chance, according to Cooper's source, were the bean game (linyor, linye, lliñ) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, and kuchas, played with 3-faced triangular dice of wood or bone (1946, p. 740).

## TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

Most Araucanian children had few toys, if any, in the early days; only a few have them today. A child that is able to walk plays with sticks and stones that lie around; sometimes with chicks and kittens. Toddlers were seen making piles of little stones. "When I was a little boy," said a 45-year-old man, "an older person carved a pair of oxen and a little cart out of wood for us to play with; very few children had any toys at all. I have eight children: none has had a toy." In the yard of a ruka I observed a little boy and his two little sisters playing with a miniature cart made by an older brother (pl. 10, 1). 524 157

Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child's life, and only rarely does a little girl have one today. A 40-year-old woman had had a rag doll when a little girl; her mother had made it "out of a piece of cloth; it had only a head; the rest of the cloth hung down. Some Mapuche girls today have the same kind of doll." A few schoolgirls had a doll or had had one when small; one had been cut out of cardboard, two had been rag dolls, and four had been bought in a store. One girl had modeled clay into a figurine, "like a little doll"; her sister had modeled a flower. "Mama had clay left after making other."

Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They modeled marbles of clay, wove balls of crabgrass, and whittled toys out of wood. A 13-year-old boy made himself a bull roarer (rararai) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

10. Müller E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina



534 stalk wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pidun, a flutelike instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of roble or culihue, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six vents at lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The cheiñel, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as giwichün, in the gillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The trulatrula is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The trulatrula is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the trulatrula is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

535 Kolopun demonstrated the two traditional dances, the kojkoimo and the purutun. He danced the kojkoimo, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I could do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultrun playing the tune for it," he said. The purutun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultrun by saying, "dung, dung, dung, dung" and then took a step to coincide with each "dung." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dung." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolopun added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the gillatun (cf. p. 338).

GAMES

● 536 A game of chance, known as rewiv loukon (game with beans), is played by men at get-togethers. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and sweethearting men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina



to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lelfün in all areas except Malleo, where it is called palitun. 526 [184]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 857 524

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 30-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 6a, *s*) for his 4-year-old son, and also smoothed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4



After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Esgel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manranas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Chocoque, and the much-praised

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

 A• T 525

We remained some days in Diplaik, during which several races were run, resulting on this occasion in favour of the horses of the Araucanians, who won many horses and mares from their neighbours.

A T 525 231

The international sports were diversified by a cock fight between Orkeke's bird, and one belonging to an Araucanian. My assistance was requested to sharpen the spurs, and my friends were much astonished at my indignant refusal to have anything to do with such a proceeding. The Araucanian owner of the cock had also a hen which, during the march, sat upon a clutch of eggs and successfully reared her brood of six chickens, the hen, nest, and all being carefully transported on horseback, and Dame Partlet seeming quite as much at home in the saddle as any Indian mother with her nursling carried in the cradle behind her.

A T 222 137

In the dry lagoons on the western side of the valley the women, and indeed sometimes the men, were frequently engaged in grubbing up an edible root which grew in large quantities. The leaf of the plant is very minute, and the root, which is found about a foot below the surface, varies in length from one to three inches: it is quite white, and about a quarter of an inch in diameter; when raw its taste resembles that of a chestnut, but is rather sweeter. The Indians boil it and drink the water, which is very sweet. During the last two days of our stay we subsisted entirely on this food and fish caught in the stream, as meat was not obtainable. Some of the Tehuelches were here induced for the first time to taste the fish on which Casimiro, Mefia, and myself were regaling, and some of them took a great liking to it, and borrowing my lines and hooks were soon sitting on the bank waiting patiently for a bite. They caught several, and towards evening returned with my lines and a share of the fish for us, which we did not require. As I had plenty of hooks, these ingenious savages soon made lines for themselves out of twisted ostrich sinews, and may, for all I know, at the present time be occupied in fishing. The fact that none of these

A T [252]

T 262 226 177

T [227]

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians 561



T 137 wild geraniums, and other flowers unknown to me. Amongst them were two magnificent creepers, one resembling a vine, with rich violet trumpet-shaped flowers, and another displaying gorgeous circular orange blossoms, with black lines radiating, like the spokes of a wheel, from the centre. I looked in vain for seeds, but there were none mature, so contented myself with plucking a flower, which was subsequently lost with other specimens.

A 567 A disagreeable incident here gave me an opportunity of observing the disposition of the Araucanians to enslave and illtreat any unhappy 'Cristiano' that they can either kidnap or purchase. One of the Chilians, after more than once removing from one Tehuelche toldo to another, listened to the delusive promises of an Araucanian, and deserted his old protectors rather than masters. He soon found that he had exchanged an easy berth for real slavery. One day he besought me to interfere to protect him from the cruelty of his master, who was urging him with his whip to continue his labour of wood-felling. He complained that he was worked all day, and scantily fed, and obliged to sleep outside the toldo; very different from his life amongst the Patagonians, when food, shelter, and a horse to ride were always his lot. At my intercession Quintahual took him into his service to protect him, for no Tehuelche would receive him; but he was afterwards reported to have been killed by his quondam master, as a punishment for his desertion.

T A 525 During our stay great gambling with cards was carried on amongst some of the party; and Casimiro and Hinchel worked most assiduously constructing saddles, which when finished they were in as great haste to gamble away. A wedding also varied the proceedings in this place; and another little incident, in the shape of a separation by mutual consent of an Araucanian husband and Tehuelche wife, gave the old ladies subject for gossip; but a reconciliation was soon after effected.

T A 586

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4



T A 648

Valdivian people on the western side and the Argentines on the eastern shores. I quote some of his exact words: 'God has given to us these plains and hills wherein to dwell; he has provided us with the guanaco, from the skins of which to form our toldos, and from the young of which we make mantles to clothe ourselves with; also the ostrich and armadillo for food. Our contact with the Christians of late years has given us a taste for yerba, sugar, biscuit, flour, and other luxuries formerly unknown, but which now have become almost necessary to us. If we have war with the Spaniards, we shall have no market for our skins, ponchos, feathers, &c., therefore it is for our own interests to be on good terms with them; besides, there is plenty of room for all.' He then went on to state that he was endeavouring to find a route to Valdivia, avoiding Las Manzanas and the Picunche tribe of Indians, who are against all foreigners; and that if possible he would get families of Valdivian Indians, and endeavour to cultivate some of the valleys in the neighbourhood of the Rio Limay.

I was not at that time aware of Mr. Cox's descent from Lake Nahuel-huapi, or could at once have informed him of that means of communication with the settlements on the western side; still I doubt the practicability of that route for women and children carrying with them household goods and agricultural implements. After some more conversation, and receiving a general invitation to visit his toldo whenever I felt inclined, and a hospitable assurance that there would always be food for me if I was hungry, I retired to Casimiro's, whilst Foyel went away to play cards, taking with him my compass for luck, and curiously enough he won several horses, silver stirrups, and other valuables from the Tehuelches.

T A 525

The following day a race took place, the Tehuelches first taking their horse up to the top of a neighbouring hill, where the doctor performed some magical ceremony to ensure his winning, which he did, though apparently inferior to his competitor. In this plain, called by the Indians Gatchen-

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4



had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed